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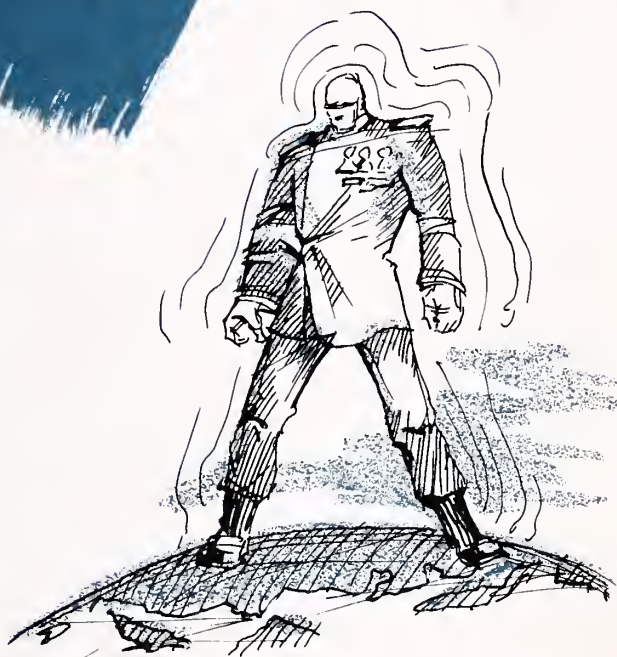
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How to deal  
with a

# DICTATOR

by

**A. J. Muste**



A. J. MUSTE, the author of *How to Deal with a Dictator*, was once labelled by *Time* as "America's Number One Pacifist." He is secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, with a long record of activity and intellectual leadership in the church and labor movement.

In *How to Deal with a Dictator* Mr. Muste comes to grips with the problem faced by the supporter of war: "What do we do about the terrible weapons of mass destruction we have created?"; and equally with the key question pacifists must answer: "How will you resist tyranny and dictatorship if you will not fight?"

In order to increase the effectiveness of *How to Deal with a Dictator* for use in discussion groups in churches and elsewhere, each of the six chapters concludes with several questions for discussion.

"Steps to Peace" by American Friends Service Committee, 1951, was out of print when ordered by MRL. This pamphlet was sent in its place, with the advice it contains the same subject matter.

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# *How to Deal with a Dictator*

By A. J. MUSTE

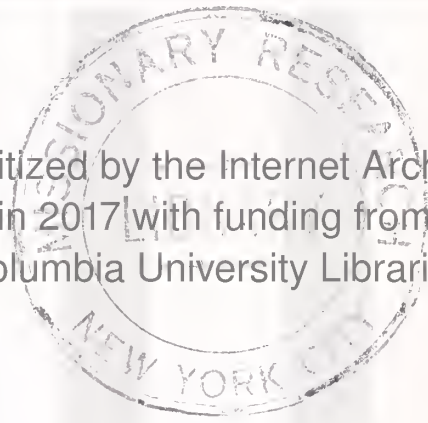

*Secretary Emeritus*

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## *The Birth of the Dictators*

**I**N OUR CENTURY, the question of dictatorship first came up in 1914 in connection with the Kaiser. To the question "What do you do to stop a dictator?" many people, including Woodrow Wilson—though it took him quite a while to bring himself to it—answered: "Anybody knows what you have to do with a mad dog. You shoot him."

Of course, we didn't do *exactly* that. We didn't send a sheriff and a couple of deputies over to shoot the Kaiser. We sent a large army of young Americans over to join millions of British, French and other youth in shooting German youth. That was because these young Germans had been infected with the Kaiser poison and become mad dogs, too.

Some Americans had a different explanation. They said that most of the young Germans were decent fellows, not mad dogs but goose-steppers. The habit of obedience had been so ground into them that they obeyed the orders of their mad-dog Kaiser automatically—something that independent young Americans, taught to think for themselves and to stand on their own feet, would not have done.

But the practical result was the same: since they were so foolish as to obey the Kaiser, they had to be shot in order that

the world might be rid of Kaiserism. Eventually so many of them were shot that they quit, and we did get rid of the Kaiser, though we didn't shoot him. In his exile he seemed rather tame for such a mad dog, but maybe that meant we had taught him a lesson. Anyway, we were told that, while it had been a lot messier and more expensive than just shooting a mad dog, it had been worth while. Kaiserism and militarism had been destroyed for good.

### **Another Mad Dog**

In 1939, however, the question popped up again: How do you stop a dictator? This time people *knew* the answer. They had worked it out only twenty years before. What *can* you do with a mad dog except shoot him?

This time it was a lot worse. Hitler had a huge pack of mad-dog Nazis at his command and the Germans were more obedient than ever—less than ever like independent Americans who don't go for conscription and being ordered around by their government. In fact, with maybe a few exceptions, the whole German people had gone berserk. On top of that, the Japanese, who had been swell guys—kind of Oriental Yankees—and on our

side in World War I, now also had become infected with dictatorship and become mad dogs.

Not all Americans thought this was the case. Some, including a lot of college students, pointed out that the First World War had not produced the desired result, and suggested that maybe war was a clumsy means of dealing with dictatorship, like operating on the eye with a butcher knife. They said, too, that we



"They said the Germans were naturally mad dogs. . . ."

were partly to blame for what was happening in Germany, because of the "revenge" element in the Versailles Peace Treaty, the awful experience of inflation in Germany and the virtual wiping out of the German middle

class, and so on.

Other Americans disagreed violently. They said the Germans were just naturally mad dogs and should have been exterminated the first time. While that kind of talk shocked most people, they persisted: "Granted that a lot of it was our fault and we would act differently if we had it to do over again, what are you going to do now? Hitler is on the march. Would you let him go on? What can you do when a mad dog is at large except shoot him dead, and fast?"

This time it was necessary to shoot a great many mad dogs, and not only those actually in the armies. Vast numbers of civilians had to be killed, too. That went against the grain with a good many of us, but "they" did it first, and what can you do with such inhuman beasts but send back more—a lot more—than "they" give? It's the only thing "they" understand.

So eventually we taught them a real lesson. Some of our scientists, because they knew the Germans were working on them, made atomic bombs. And since the Germans had given up by the time we had the bombs ready, we dropped them on the Japanese. A great many of our boys died in this Second World War and it

cost a terrific amount of money. But Hitler and Tojo were licked. This time we really had put an end to dictatorship and totalitarianism. Everybody could breathe easy at last.

### Biggest Mad Dog Yet

Alas for our hopes! Soon another mad dog was loose—Stalin. We had, as a matter of fact, eagerly accepted Russia under Stalin as an ally against the German and Japanese mad dogs. No Americans of any importance, including Senator McCarthy and his followers, raised any objections to this strange alliance during the war. Only a few pacifists, mindful of a saying about Satan casting out Satan, expressed doubts as to whether mad dogs would get rid of mad dogs for us. Others spoke of Stalin in those days as "good old Joe." Some thought the Kremlin would be lured away from totalitarianism by alliance with the "democracies." Most just figured that if one mad dog wanted to help you in killing another, that was fine. If they thought beyond that, it was to the effect that if Stalin displayed mad dog designs against us after the war, well, we didn't need to be told what to do with mad dogs!

After the war, the Soviet regime acted on the same theory we had, *viz.*, that you accept any ally when things are desperate, and afterward resume your regular course. It felt that its success in the war vindicated Communist totalitarianism. It continued its efforts, as in China and Korea, to expand Communism by various means, including force. Like all victors in war, it believed it had proved that "violence pays!"

All this irritated and alarmed us no end, and still does. Though some think that the Communist bloc may now be considerably shaken, basically Americans feel that Communism presents us with the most powerful mad dog we have yet encountered. Moreover, this mad dog has let loose a plague of rats in all the undeveloped and in all the democratic countries. Communist rats who infiltrate, make trouble and break down morale. And the people who come under their sway acquire



the same awful habit of obedience and unquestioning submission to orders.

Again there are men back from the wars who say: "Never again! Two World Wars, war under the guise of 'police action' in Korea, Cold War, and still we face a bigger and more powerful dictatorship than ever. There must be a catch somewhere. The idea that you can stop this thing by war is evidently a mistake, and it's too expensive a mistake to make a third time." There are again those who say that some bad mistakes have been made in our dealing with the Russians and we, or Roosevelt, or Truman or somebody is partly to blame. But finally we get right back to where we came in: "What are we going to do *now*? Are we going to back down and let Malenkov take over Korea or Mao Tse-tung take over Indo-China? Are we going to break up our atomic bombs, especially now that the Kremlin has them too? Does anyone have any doubt that they would use them on us or keep them hanging over our heads while they imposed Communism on us and the rest of the world?"

So we are told we must get ready to shoot down mad dogs again. This time we have a stockpile of super-atomic bombs. Furthermore, if "necessary" we are going to poison the dogs and the rats and their families, or infect them with diseases with bacterial weapons.

But the monotonous story is undergoing a change. As the wars get bigger and come closer together, the assurance that the next one really will be the last and will definitely put an end to dictatorship grows less. In fact, it has practically disappeared. People talk now about the possible destruction of civilization, and even the end of the race. The argument for continuing down the road to atomic and bacterial war, even though suicide may lie at the end of it, seems to boil down to this: that nobody wants to be a coward and if you have to go down, it is better to go down fighting. One of the big atomic scientists said to me, "Americans would rather be dead lions than live mice."

Put in those terms, maybe there is something to say for our present course of action. Certainly no one wants to be a coward. But sensible persons will agree that, before we accept the risk of mass suicide and the certainty of spiritual degradation that go with atomic war, we ought at least to study the situation once more and see whether there is not another choice possible. Maybe we are not so brave as we think. Maybe we are sheep, blindly following the leader, rushing in panic to slaughter. If we start out with the idea of killing a mad dog and end up with all mankind leading a mad dog's life—and perhaps not even with the assurance of surviving on that debased level—it could be that the mad dog theory was wrong all the time!

### The Devil-in-the-Leg Theory

Consider now a hypothetical primitive society living somewhere in an unexplored jungle, and hypothetical Mr. Jones who is a member of it. Jones has developed a festering sore on his leg that the local medicine man diagnoses as a "devil."

Obviously Jones has to get rid of the thing. Thinking that the sore is the disease and not a mere symptom, and that the disease is not a part of himself but a devil that has attacked him from the outside, he obeys the counsel of his medicine man and hacks off the leg. True, he is now pretty badly crippled, but he is alive and he has killed the devil. That will teach all devils a lesson, he is assured.

However, after a time the same kind of sore develops on the other leg. What is there to do except hack the thing away again and kill the new devil that has moved in on him, even if it costs another leg? At any rate, he will be alive and spiritually sound because the devil will have been destroyed.

Alas, after a very short interval, the cripple finds that the same kind of illness has now attacked his stomach. The medicine men gather once more to beat their drums. Their verdict is that the devil has moved in again. Both for the patient's sake and for that of all the tribe, the new

devil has to be destroyed. It is true that if the demon is killed in his new abode, the patient may not survive at all. But there is a tiny chance that he may survive with patched-up insides, a tiny, tiny chance that there may not be a fourth devil, or that the fourth one may be too scared to tackle the man again. Furthermore, the medicine men exhort the man not to be a coward, not just to give in to the devil, not to flaunt the age-old wisdom of the medicine men of his tribe, and not to be queer and disregard the customs of his tribe. So the patient is worked on again with an axe. Another devil has been given his due.

Primitive men, and even some not so primitive, actually have treated bodily illnesses in ways as stupid and pointless as this. But in time man learned that there was no devil in the man's leg. The disease was not something that resided in the leg; it was a disease of the whole body, of the bloodstream. Furthermore, you were not destroying something extraneous, something not a part of yourself, when you chopped off a leg in order to get rid of the devil in it; you were killing yourself. And while in a certain sense you were brave, and there is always something to be said for bravery, it was in this case beside the point. You were a victim of ignorance and superstition: your own, your medicine men's, your whole luckless tribe's.

All illustrations are, of course, limited in their application. But I venture to suggest that we shall get a much better picture of the real nature of the trouble the world is in and, therefore, of how we may get ourselves out of it, if we look at these matters with the help of our story of primitive man and his disease, than if we continue thinking in terms of the mad dog we have to shoot.

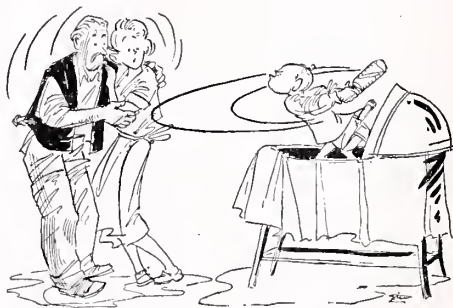
Our Western world is suffering from a disease. The defect in our treatment of the disease in this Twentieth Century stems largely from the fact that we do not see this Western world—and all mankind, for that matter—as a single organism. We see an ugly sore breaking out in a certain part of the world, and we do not conclude that this means that the body of Western civilization is sick. We think, in the first place, that a devil rules the place. And in the second place, we think that the country in which this devil resides is separate from us. In attacking this devil, therefore, we can safely devastate his country and its people without hurting ourselves at all.

### Cure for Common Diseases

But we are tragically wrong. The Western world, and all the nations in it, especially the big ones, are sick. The illness is mental and spiritual as well as political and economic. We are suffering from our ignorance and superstitions—our individual ones; those of our medicine men in politics, press, radio, church; those of our respective nations and of Western civilization as a whole. When we call in the medicine men and beat the drums and go out hunting, we shoot primarily ourselves. We blast away at our own legs and arms and heads. We are idiots, committing suicide.

All this suggests that if we want an answer to the question of what to do to stop dictators, we ought to try to get our temperatures down so that we can study with some measure of calm the basic difficulties that our world is up against. Calling each other names is like one leg cursing the other, or the ear putting out the eye.

One of the basic insights of all the great teachers of non-violence, such as



"The tension in him is your tension reflected back on you."



Jesus and Gandhi, is that your "enemy" is always in an important degree yourself, your "other self." The tension in him is your tension reflected back on you. Many a parent has suddenly become aware that this is what happens in a difficult family situation in his relation to that "enemy," his own child, his own creation and "other self."

So in all kinds of relationships one's own aggressiveness arouses the other's defensiveness. More than that, one's own defensiveness tends to arouse aggression in another. If you feel that you have to put up your guard against another human being, he naturally concludes you are the kind of person against whom it will be well for him to be on guard. Your uneasiness in his presence cannot produce a sense of ease and relaxation in him. If there are things that one nation hangs on to so hard that it will risk atomic war rather than let them go, another nation is likely to conclude that it is worth the same risk to take these things away. "Arm yourself and you arm your enemy," as every armaments race in history has demonstrated.

### **The Mote and the Beam**

These obvious facts of human behavior account for another bit of advice in the teaching of all the great practitioners of nonviolence. Jesus stated it thus: "Why do you concentrate on the mote in your brother's eye instead of the beam in your own? You hypocrite, take the beam out of your own eye first and then you will be able to see clearly to take that mote out of your brother's eye."

I do not suppose that Jesus meant that in any conflict situation there was literally a big beam in one's own eye and an all but invisible mote in the other fellow's. After all, had he been talking to the other fellow, he would have counselled him to take the beam out of *his* eye. I am not one who thinks the U.S.-U.S.S.R. conflict, for example, can be analyzed satisfactorily by means of a cartoon showing a huge beam cluttering up Uncle Sam's eye and

a barely perceptible mote in Uncle Ivan's.

### **Creative Action in Conflict**

What Jesus taught was that in a conflict situation an individual or nation can do something effective and creative about the trouble in the "enemy" only in the degree that it does something creative about the source of tension and conflict itself. This shows again why nothing is accomplished by shooting the enemy: what does that do to the source of strife and evil in oneself, except possibly aggravate it?

Edmond Taylor, head of the planning board of O.S.S.\* during World War II, makes essentially the same point in a book entitled, *Richer By Asia*, published in 1947. We always want to cure the other fellow of his delusion, Taylor suggests. But one cannot get directly at the mind of the other fellow or group. The only mind or "eye" you can really get at is your own. Either you begin there or you don't begin at all and are sunk. To quote him: "Instead of attempting the hopeless task of removing irremovable delusions in others (let us) concentrate on the difficult but possible task of preventing them from begetting new delusions in us." In other words, we Americans in our irritation because the Communists or Russians won't come to their senses will be well advised not to let them drive us any crazier than we already are!

### **Aggression Produces Aggression**

It is my conviction that these various points about human relationships can and need to be applied to the present conflict between the United States and Russia, West and East. There is an important sense in which the aggression of the West has produced today's aggression by the East. The Communism we fight is a creature of our own culture. Such ideas may be hard to take, but as all thinking

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\* Office of Strategic Services—concerned with psychological warfare, "cloak and dagger" activities, etc.

people realize by now, the situation is so desperate that we *have* to determine whether there is not another way of looking at the problem than the way we have been in the past. Our very existence may depend on finding it.

## Suggestions for Discussion

*1. Does victory in war really prove that violence pays? Does it prove that the victorious nation was "right?" How will the probable reactions of the defeated nation affect the outlook for peace?*

*2. Is it true that this is "one world" and that injury to any part is likely to injure the whole? In what ways has the defeat of Germany and Japan in World War II injured the United States? How would a military victory over Russia or China be likely to hurt the Western nations?*

*3. To what extent have the wars of this century strengthened or weakened democracy as a way of life?*

## The Facts of Life

LET US TAKE A BRIEF LOOK at some of the "facts of life" in today's world.

Arnold Toynbee, in his most recent book, *The World Against the West*, has pointed out that the dominant fact in history from about the year 1500 was the spread of Western European peoples, later joined by the United States, over most of the rest of the world. Sometimes they took direct political control; other times they preferred to establish an economic hegemony. When they felt they needed to, they waged war. The record of their conquests includes many outrages and brutalities upon civilized as well as barbarian or savage peoples.

This long continued and terrific aggression of the West has now been brought to a stop. There are, in fact, signs that a counter-movement from the East is setting in. Communism obviously derives much of its appeal from the fact that it arrays itself against the Western European imperialisms and offers leadership to Eastern peoples in revolt against them. One often hears the statement that the West may be overrun in turn by these peoples under Communist leadership. No one with a little knowledge of history will suggest that this is impossible. It is this possibility that strikes fear into many a

white man these days as night settles on various lands around the globe.

### "The Villainy You Teach"

One recalls the closing lines of Shylock's famous speech in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, the one in which he explains why he is going to exact the pound of flesh from the breast of the Christian merchant as the mutually agreed upon forfeit for his failure to repay the loan. "If a Jew," says he, "hurt a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian hurt a Jew, what is his sufferance by Christian example? Why, revenge! *The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the example.*"

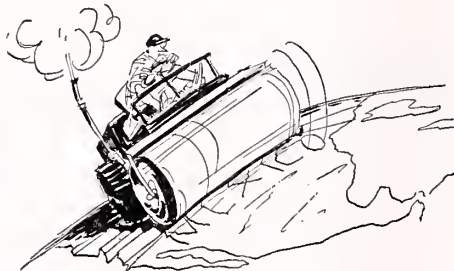
Furthermore, if one of these long overdue divine judgments threatens the Western world, its aggression having given birth to aggression, history makes few things clearer than that the West is doomed if it does not have some other than military means to meet this upsurge of new powers. Every nation that has taken the sword, in its turn has perished by it. When, as always comes to pass, the strong man is overtaken by one stronger than he, the latter "taketh from him his whole armor wherein he trusted, and di-

videth his spoils." Such laws of life and history we do well to ponder as we read reports of the aroused masses in many lands and of Soviet progress in those atomic weapons in our monopoly of which we trusted only a couple of years ago.

But someone is probably asking: "What has this to do with the United States? Dutch, French and British imperialism, yes, but not American." The answer is that, in the first place, Eastern peoples can hardly be expected to make fine distinctions among Westerners and Anglo-Saxons, especially when they almost always work and fight together. More basic is the actual role expansionist United States has played and still is playing.

From our side of the Iron Curtain we see a dynamic, ever-expanding Russia. If it is stopped for a while, it gets going again soon enough. It rolls over other nations like a steam-roller. Other people, as ourselves, are resentful or afraid, and ask apprehensively, "Where is this going to end?"

But the Russians think the same thing about us. They tell about a handful of American colonies on the Atlantic seaboard spreading all the way across to the Pacific, to Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal, Alaska and Hawaii. They claim that we used the steam-roller on Mexico, Panama and the Philippines when we thought we had to. They point to American bases and troops all over the world. The Atlantic, the Pacific, the Mediterranean, the Sea of Japan, and probably the Persian Gulf, are now "American lakes," where no ships may sail if the American Navy and Air Force forbid. As someone, not a Russian, said recently, "For isolationists, these Americans certainly get around."



"... steamroller on Mexico."

A second respect in which the West, and in particular the United States, is the "aggressor" in today's world has to do with the technology of war. Whenever some nation, like the ancient Hittites or whoever it was that first used iron to make weapons, made a decisive advance in war technology, that nation was felt to be an aggressor. It inspired suspicion and fear. Others felt defenseless before it unless and until they could catch up. Many can

recall how the startling advances in war aviation by Germany under Hitler called forth the same reaction. These aggressors must be "quarantined," said Franklin D. Roosevelt in a famous speech.

Today the United States is in the position of having led by far the most tremendous

advance in war technology in all history. It was not the Fascists, Nazis, Japanese militarists or Communists, but peace-loving Americans who by unilateral action at Hiroshima and Nagasaki catapulted the world into atomic war. It is unreasonable of us to expect that other peoples are going to react any differently to our supremacy in war technology than to other nations in a similar position. Nations making such advances have invariably proclaimed that their possession of the superior new weapons at last guaranteed the peace of the world. No one ever believed it. Even British spokesmen today may, on the one hand, assert that the retaliatory power in American hands is the one thing that has preserved the world from another general war, while at the same time they are deeply disturbed over their island's being the base for U.S. airfleets and destined to be demolished if war comes.

As for the Russians, it seems clear that their post-war behavior can largely be explained by supposing that they have been saying to the American government

and people, in effect: "You were bent on achieving a monopoly of atomic weapons. You wanted, in the power struggle, to be in a position to say the last word. Self-righteously you assumed that this guaranteed world peace, that we and all others would rejoice that God had placed the A-bomb in such trustworthy hands. Well, we do not feel like playing ball with you on these terms. We want to be in a position to bargain on equal terms—from a 'position of strength,' to borrow a favorite American phrase—or better still, to have the position of supremacy that you coveted. When that time comes, real peace will, naturally, be possible."

It is very wicked of the men in the Kremlin to behave like this and to be willing thus to take on a share of responsibility for plunging the world into atomic war. But who set the example? "The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the example." They that sow the wind may reap the whirlwind.

### Woe Unto the Rich

We skip over, for the present, the disturbing effect of our general technology and industrialism forcing drastic changes in economic systems and ancient cultures in many lands. But there is one aspect of our economic life which we do need to look at in order that Americans may understand how they come to be disliked and hated, thought of as the aggressors, the irritating and disturbing element among the nations. This is the fact that the United States has, speaking roughly, half of the wealth of the world.

Suppose there were a family of twenty brothers and each mealtime food enough for two square meals was put on the table, one

half before the brother at the head of the table, and the other to be divided among the other nineteen. Would there be any question as to who would be regarded as the aggressor or troublemaker? If occasionally the big and well-fed brother sent some morsels down the table, might not even this seem another form of aggression and humiliation, especially if the well-fed brother tended to pride himself on his benevolence and periodically shouted that there would be "no more hand-outs" to lazy and inefficient fellows? Even if it were indubitably the case that the big brother had "earned" his keep, it simply is not possible, either in economic or psychological terms, to keep a family of persons or nations together on such a basis of economic imbalance. If the American people remain smug, fail to realize how the situation affects the thinking of other peoples about the United States, and refuse to work to change all this, they will be hated as no people has ever been hated. They are not far from it now.

### Psychological Aggression

In addition to carrying its arms and its political or economic domination throughout much of the world, the West for centuries has perpetrated an outrageous aggression on other peoples by its doctrine and practice of White Supremacy. Americans were obviously not the least offenders.

Literally and otherwise, majority group members in this country for decades pushed the colored peoples off the sidewalks here and abroad. When we now encounter resentment, hate, insolence, arrogance, perhaps terrorism, we meet ourselves. What men sow they reap. The bitter bread made from the meal ground in those



"... he sent some morsels down the table."



mills of the gods which "grind slowly but exceedingly sure," is placed on the table before them.

This thing, too, has a very direct bearing on the power conflict of our time. Nearly all nations and groups except some of the Western European and the United States have in the immediate past undergone the experience of humiliation, of being made to *feel* inferior. They make up a great Brotherhood of the Humiliated. Communism with its chant: "Arise, ye wretched of the earth . . . we have been nought, we shall be all," will have an irresistible appeal for them, until the day when there is no such thing as White Supremacy.

### Who Created Communism?

There is a still more fundamental sense in which totalitarian Communism, the "enemy," is *our* creation and a product of the West. Communism is, of course, not wholly evil. Nothing can hold the allegiance of multitudes and organize political and economic regimes that somehow function unless it has genuinely positive elements in it. The original Communist dream of a classless and warless world, a brotherly society of equals, is itself a creation of the West. It is the vision of the prophets of Israel.

It is not, however, with these factors that this pamphlet deals but with those aspects of Communism which we reject and feel we must fight. People say that any means are justifiable in fighting Communism because (1) it is godless and atheistic, (2) it is authoritarian and mechanistic, and (3) it is committed to violence and to the doctrine that the "end justifies the means."

### Communist Atheism

When I hear about Communist atheism. I often think of the pastor who several years ago said that the men in his town who demanded war against Communism because "Communism closes the churches" were the ones who never attended his or any other church! It happens that church membership and attendance are going up

in this country, but thoughtful people will not regard this as automatic proof of the godliness of the American culture or of the people of the United States. It happens that in Great Britain church membership and attendance are drastically down; few will regard this as proof that it is a less Christian land than our own.

When it comes to other than surface factors, who will say that American culture today is godly or Christian? The "gods" of the American university campus, an American professor recently observed, are Progress, Relativism and Scientism. The philosophies of secularism, atheism, and materialism upon which Marxism and Leninism have drawn did not come out of Russia, Asia or Africa. They came from Western Europe and the United States.

To allude to Toynbee's *The World Against the West* once again, he points out that when Peter the Great two centuries and a half ago sought to introduce Western "know-how" into Russia, he had also to take along elements of Western Christianity, since in those days they were still tied together. When Lenin wanted to introduce Western technology, of which the Bolsheviks are enamored, he did not need to bother with Christian culture or ideas. All he needed in order to bring Russia what the West had to give was Henry Ford plus Karl Marx, that is to say, mass production and a materialistic philosophy.

To put it another way, it has been said that what you have in Bolshevism is "an idolatrous worship of the techniques of science divorced from ethical considerations." But, again, this is characteristic of the West. It is hard to think of a more glaring instance of this idolatry than that presented by a nation whose most brilliant minds are engaged in making A and H-bombs. The Russians, as Edmond Taylor observed, "share our science-idolatry and the lacunae in our sense of human dignity."

Granted that Communism generally carries such ideas and practices further than the West. Shakespeare reminds us

that our "villainy" is not wiped out because others copy it and "better the example."

### Communist Conformity

The second great charge against Communism is that it introduces mechanization, centralization and conformity. It makes human beings mere cogs in a huge political-industrial machine. But the tendency toward mechanization and centralization is certainly not something Russia brought into modern life. It is characteristic of the West and not least of all of American big business. A good while ago Henry Ford said that it was the business of modern management to take the load off the worker's back and put it on the machine, and to take the load off the worker's mind and put it in the office. Modern industrial methods have certainly brought some gains and have freed human beings from certain forms of drudgery. But a worker who has nothing left on his back and nothing left on his mind is only a caricature of a human being. The feeling on the part of people in the West that they have no control over what big businesses and big governments do, that they are pawns on a chessboard, is understandably widespread.

This is illustrated in what is probably the prevalent attitude of American youth toward war. A very intelligent and observant English woman who recently traveled widely in this country and talked with large numbers of G.I.'s, including young men coming from or going to Korea, reported thus: "Not only is the glamor gone out of war for your youth. They do not hate the enemy either. A typical comment is one a young man made to me: 'If a Chinese or Russian came into my store, I'd treat

him just as I would you or any one else. But if the government declared war and told me to shoot him, I would.'" It is surely obvious that when Communism drills people into behaving impersonally, as "things" who treat other human beings as "things" in crucial situations, it is carrying out attitudes and patterns set by Western culture much more than by the former Russian culture.

Nor is the disease of conformity and its accompaniment of hysterical nationalism and anti-foreignism characteristic only of countries behind the Iron Curtain. We have only to point to the things which such terms as McCarthyism, loyalty oaths, etc., suggest. This enforcement of conformity by methods as yet less crude than obtain in totalitarian lands is taking place in a country which is almost fabulously well off and on which no bomb has ever yet been dropped. As even the *New York Times* suggested in an editorial some months ago, what will be left of democracy in such a country if it ever runs into real crisis or danger?

### Communist Violence

The third charge against Communism is its resort to violence, its espousal of the doctrine that any means are justified in promoting "the revolution." But the Russians were not primarily responsible for World War I. Much less the Communists who nowhere had real power when that war broke out. It is the Western

nations which in this age have played the leading roles in wars. John Foster Dulles, who will not be suspected of radicalism or pacifism, has more than once pointed out that it is war that has given the Communists their great chance, rather than Communism that launched the series of wars which has cursed our time.



In the development of the obscene technology of atomic war, as we pointed out earlier, it was not the Communists who led the way. How real or great is the moral difference, the scrupulousness in the use of means, between nations that prepare for the use of atomic mass-destruction weapons to promote and defend Communism and those who employ exactly the same means, on a larger scale if only they can manage it, in order to promote and defend the American way of life?

### Two Guiding Principles

I have a firm conviction—I have tried it out in quite a few instances—that if you could sit down with almost any American and quietly talk things through, he would agree that in mapping out its program for the crisis the United States should start with two principles growing out of our discussion so far:

1. Toss the mad dog or devil theory for ridding the world of dictators and dictatorships out the window. In fact, toss war out the window. A man can't saw off his leg as if it were a tree stump and not hurt himself. No more can the United States hack Russia, Germany, China or what have you to pieces and not hurt itself. The world *is* one world. It is an organism. "We *are* members one of another." Mankind suffers from certain maladies: militarism, expansionism, nationalism, colonialism, loss of faith in democracy, tendencies to conformity and regimentation, economic imbalance, and frightful poverty over a large part of the

earth. Salvation lies in tackling these problems, and tackling them *together*. In the face of this urgent and colossal task, war is a distraction—both silly and tragic. If the human family in the little boat of civilization on a vast ocean keeps on fighting, the boat and its human freight will sink. They perish *together*, or *together* they reach the desired haven.

2. The second guiding principle is that it takes a sane man or nation to bring others to their senses; a maniac cannot do it. A man who has overcome alcoholism in himself can through Alcoholics Anonymous help others to sobriety and creative living, but only after he has overcome it himself. No man or nation can command another to sober up and behave rationally *first*. A man or nation can only *teach* others by *example*, which obviously means by being sensible and decent *first*.

This is why the "I will if you will" business—"I will disarm if you will"—has been such a miserable failure in the United Nations as it was in the League of Nations. It always really means: "I will if you will *first*." On the moral level: "I will repent if you will," meaning "If Russia uses H-bombs, I will too," is a despicable position. Therefore, the basis for a sound crisis program for the United States is that the United States must first point the finger at itself. How can a nation that is yielding its democracy to McCarthyism and militarism and that places its reliance on H-bombs to defend Christ and Christ's way, rid the world of Communism and war?

## Suggestions for Discussion

1. *If you were a Russian, or an Indian, or an African, do you think you would feel that American supremacy in atomic weapons made peace more or less likely?*

2. *How seriously do you suppose the case for democracy is weakened in Asia and Africa by racial discrimination in the United States?*

3. *Do you consider the United States a Christian nation? What policy do you think a completely Christian nation would take toward Russia? China?*

# The Brotherhood That Must Be Built

THE UNITED STATES must take the lead in adopting and carrying out a wise, cooperative program for peace. What, concretely and positively, would such a program be? It may be stated in some such form as this:

We want to build a democratic world society, free from totalitarianism. This must be a disarmed world since a world on a permanent war footing will be ruled by dictatorships—a Barracks, not a Brotherhood. The world we seek to build will be an orderly and organized one with a real world authority that all accept and respect, equipped if need be with a federal police, not an army. This in the place of the autonomous and competing nationalisms of today which create the anarchy and state of permanent war which threaten mankind with destruction.

Our diagnosis points, furthermore, to the prescription that the two chief requirements for halting the spread of totalitarianism and eventually building a democratic and orderly world are:

1. The United States must share fully in a cooperative world effort to end hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy, economic and educational underdevelopment. The standard of living of the masses in all the so-called backward countries must be

raised appreciably. The immense gap between the wealth of the West, especially that of the United States, and the rest of the world must be closed. The time when a nation can solve its economic problems on a national basis, apart from or in deadly competition with the rest of the world is past. The human family must now order its economic life as a family. *As long as widespread poverty, economic imbalance and the other ills we have mentioned are allowed to remain, we are not stopping Communism: we are ourselves spreading Communism and insuring its victory.*

## A Global Program for Children

To put the matter in a dramatic and at the same time very practical way: the economic and foreign policy of the United States should be a child-centered one. Let the United States say to the world: "Our policy is that insofar as it is in our means—material, intellectual, spiritual—we shall see to it that henceforth not a child in the world is hungry, ill-clad, inadequately housed, subject to the limitation of educational opportunity, needlessly exposed to disease or without proper care in sickness."

Let us make it clear that we do not



mean children on our side of the Iron Curtain only. Let us proclaim that under our policy feeding a hungry child or letting it starve will not hinge on whether its government will sell us uranium to make atom bombs or give us soldiers to help fight our wars. Let us make it clear also that we have no intention of carrying out this program of common sense, common decency and justice as an act of charity performed by a Rich Uncle for his poor relatives, nor as a subtle means of imposing or donating American, Western or Christian culture to heathen who have no culture or "true religion" of their own. Much less will we use it as a means by which Americans may reap profits and spread the idolatrous worship of "the profit system."

Let it be clear that we understand that *we*, too, are in danger in the world as it is presently constituted, that we also need to be saved, that in many ways we need help as in other ways we are capable of giving it, and that it is a shared effort on a global scale to make economic life decent, fruitful and stable that we have in mind in our child-centered policy.

### The Resource of Faith

2. The West, and in particular the United States, must "get religion," that is, must recover a living, vibrant, dynamic faith. This faith must again make a genuine and deep appeal to the masses of men as the spiritual basis for a better world.

The greatest source of strength of the Communist movement today is that it wins the spiritual allegiance of youth and of the wronged, oppressed and humiliated. It does this largely because Communism is a faith that is both professed and practiced.

Democracy, on the other hand, has lost its appeal, especially among the masses in those countries which have not yet cast their lot with either the Communist or the democratic world. This is indubitably true of "democracy" as preached by and practiced in the United States today. The Christian churches likewise are meeting barriers, being subjugated or driven out

of many lands. Probably the chief reason is that, unlike the Communists, *we* profess a faith or faiths we do not practice. We surrender democratic practice within in our reliance upon militarism and war to ward off Communism without. As Christians we profess to overcome evil by the "better way" of the Cross, of faith in the power of the Spirit, of loving and feeding our enemies. We do not practice this better way. We rely, finally, as nearly everyone else does, on the atomic stockpile to deter evildoers and to ward off evil.

This *shadow*—of a faith professed and not practiced—will not avail against the Communist *reality*—of a faith, inadequate and in certain crucial respects evil, but professed and practiced with an unmatched devotion.

### What About Defense?

Among thinking people in this country, there is virtually no dissent from the two propositions just stated, that we must meet Communism on the economic level of human need and that we must meet it on the spiritual level by a recovery of faith in our own spiritual values. We do not have to go to idealists, pacifists, preachers and such for quotations to substantiate this. They may be picked at random from almost any of President Eisenhower's speeches, for example.

BUT, when it comes to acting upon the first—the economic—prescription, two tremendous obstacles are encountered. The first is that the practical people all say that first, or concurrently, we have to look after our military defenses. We must build up enough military strength to be able to deter Russia and, if it comes to war, to have substantial assurance of victory.

Liberals and progressives, in and out of the churches, advocate the "right" combination of economic-political and military strategy, of technical assistance, Point IV, relief, on the one hand, and military defense on the other. They protest, when out of office, when economic provisions are reduced. In office, they want to put as much as possible into economic aid, pro-



vided always we do not cut our military strength *vis a vis* the Russian bloc.

### Squaring the Circle

This is an attempt to square the circle, or ride two horses going in opposite directions. Here are some of the reasons:

1. Keeping up a war establishment in the atomic age is almost prohibitively expensive. Only a few nations can afford to be in the business at all. An armaments race has no natural stopping point. The invention of new and more expensive weapons goes on apace. Thus any nation that tries to function as a big power, not having infinite resources at its disposal, is loaded with a huge military budget and *has to take it out of somebody's hide*. Totalitarian regimes take it out of the hides of their own people, especially the peasants. Hence labor camps and terrorism. A privileged nation like the United States takes it out of the hides of starving Asian masses, often living under conditions fully as bad as those of labor camps. Not even we are rich enough to afford an adequate military establishment and to give adequate aid at the same time.

2. Improvement of economic conditions requires that trade flow along natural channels. East Germany should be able to trade with West Germany; France should get coal from Poland rather than having to import expensive coal from the United States; Japan and China should trade with each other. But this cannot be permitted because sensible people don't build up their enemies. War has to be waged on the economic as well as other fronts. If nations build up huge walls or dig vast chasms between each other for

power struggle purposes, they cannot at the same time freely exchange goods—or ideas either, for that matter.

3. Because of the paramountcy of military strategic considerations, in the show-down aid policies are always subordinated to power needs. We "give" billions to Koreans and Indo-Chinese to fight each other and to destroy their respective countries. We support elements in Japan,

such as former industrial and military leaders, that will saddle the Japanese with a military establishment again and may well equip Japan for future military advances. We support the Malan regime in South Africa because it will sell us uranium and other strategic goods for our atomic arsenal. We oppose or try

to slow down popular revolutions against landlordism and make it our primary concern to keep these countries in our military orbit so that we may continue to get rubber, oil, tin, etc., on easy terms. It is utterly impossible to do these things and at the same time substantially and rapidly to raise the level of the masses and stabilize world economy. *Increasingly the upsurging masses scorn our aid when we tie strategic strings to it and actually welcome the Communists who have no dollars to give and promise only blood, sweat and tears—with liberation from the West!*

For these and other reasons, the effort to combine economic and military strategy always turns out to mean that military considerations come first and economic far behind, if not dropping out of the picture altogether.

### The Eisenhower Program

Of this ominous truth we have a perfect illustration in the policy of the Eisenhower administration. (For that matter,



"... a child-centered program."

Adlai Stevenson and the Fair and New Dealers furnish the same lesson, for it is the presumably liberal Democrats who now clamor most loudly that the economy drive of the Eisenhower regime threatens our defense!) A liberal, Republican businessman representing the United States on a United Nations Commission has told his colleagues that the United States must drastically cut aid to other countries and virtually wipe out any for which it does not get a direct and quick military *quid pro quo*—until general disarmament has been achieved. Then it will gladly devote to economic aid a substantial part of what is saved.

### Why Should They Believe Us?

This sounds logical and sensible. But the reasoning is twisted. For one thing, why should we expect that other peoples are going to believe this promise? We tell them that now when we are insecure we cannot help them; we have to put all we've got into military defense. But when we are secure we shall come to their aid. They are certain to think, even if they are too polite or scared to say so, that if we are so wedded to "enlightened (?) self-interest" that we cannot look beyond our own noses when we need friends, we are not likely to be more astute or generous when we are sitting easy and pretty. Already they can hear the thunderous clamor to lower taxes from business men who can be made to pay taxes for "defense" (which, incidentally, helps to dispose of surplus production), but who don't want to be taxed for frills, such as "milk for Hottentots," in peace time. Other peoples are convinced that, in our well-high idolatrous worship of Free Enterprise, our leaders will proclaim that "business is business and not charity," that we must now compete for the control of world markets.

Far more important, the United States is, in effect, saying that its policy now is to build an impregnable wall around this already rich and immensely powerful nation so that it may not run any risk of losing its advantageous position. This has

priority. And if this means that multitudes must be left starving or on the edge of starvation, even while grain surpluses overflow our own warehouses, and that we cannot now tackle, on a world scale, the campaign to eliminate poverty, disease and lack of educational facilities from the heritage of the earth's children—well, that is too bad; it cannot be helped; "We have no choice."

When we do this, we drive the peoples in underdeveloped areas straight into the arms of Communism. We are Malenkov's and Mao's best allies. The Communist line is precisely that we are a people who are concerned only about our own security and privilege, that to maintain our favored position we shall not hesitate to wage atomic war, and that we have no real concern about the plight of the world's exploited masses. We prove the truth of their line by our action, even by our formulated and openly stated policy. We are a people who think we have no choice but to make more hydrogen bombs and that we do have a choice and can afford to wait with concern and aid for masses who almost literally will starve tomorrow—or more correctly, in their present mood, revolt rather than starve—if we do not feed them today. As we have already pointed out, before our very eyes they march into the Communist camp—dictatorship, terror, labor camps and all. The Communists point to Russia and its present position in the world as proof that Communism is the one way—admittedly tough and in human terms costly—in which a backward nation can industrialize at a startling pace, build a modern military machine and proceed to tell the West to go hang. They are believed because, on the terms we set, their case is irrefutable. We do not give the underdeveloped countries an economic alternative. *They* have no choice. Furthermore, on these terms the situation would not be essentially changed if we bombed Moscow off the face of the earth. The Asians, Africans and Latin Americans still would not starve without complaint, still would not accept any form of colo-

nialism or submission to the white West, still would not leave us in undisturbed possession of our wealth and privilege.

### **Clenched Fist or Open Hand?**

Since, then, we cannot really stay in the armaments race and the global power struggle and at the same time launch a serious global economic program, we have to make the fateful choice of one or the other. To use a Communist symbol, we have to keep up the clenched fist and make sure that the arm behind it is strong to strike, or we have to take the fist down, open our hands, put our food and our skills into them and "weaponless, armorless, without shield or spear" go in childlike spirit to the needy peoples of the earth.

Many will vehemently interpose that this is risky. Of course it is. At this stage in history, there is no course that does not involve risk, pain and vast labors. There are, alas, many Americans, including peace workers, who think there is. We just do not live in that kind of world any more. The choice is the risky one of an all-out war policy or an all-out waging of peace. The difference is that the risk entailed by continuation of the arms race and the power struggle is final and total. It means extinction, if not physical, then in any case of democratic life in our generation and for many to come. It is national suicide, an ignominious death such as has overtaken other powers one after another, especially in those historic epochs when great states have become involved in a series of ever more devastating wars.

### **The Better Risk**

Why is the economic strategy for dealing with Communism a better risk? For one thing, the underdeveloped countries desire to get rid of outside, that is, Western control and of landlordism or feudalism. They desire to move definitely and fairly rapidly toward raising their standard of living and overcoming economic backwardness. Our consistent and substantial failure to help them carry out this program hands them over to the Communists. This is an immense asset to the latter, even in a strictly military sense.

If we reversed our position, we who are so much better equipped to help these countries than Russia is, they would not be on the Communist side. Even if they were not willing to fight on our side, this would mean big changes in the power relationship between U. S. and Russia.

Moreover, if the Russian and other Communist people had before them the example of peoples who were finding an alternative method, more rapid and less costly than that of dictatorship and forced collectivization, for developing an advanced economy, this would shake their attachment to their present method and might well create in them a demand for an easier life. As events since the death of Stalin have suggested, the men in the Kremlin would have to heed this mass demand or lose control. If we really want to weaken and undermine Russian dictatorship and "liberate" the Communist peoples, this is the way to do it, not putting a ring of military bases around Russia or imitating Communists by sending spies into Russia and provoking violence.

## **Suggestions for Discussion**

- 1. How do poverty and colonialism spread Communism?*
- 2. What would be the concrete meaning of a "child-centered" policy?*
- 3. Has the American program of economic aid to other countries been primarily for our benefit or theirs?*
- 4. How would you compare the relative risks of the "clenched fist" and the "open hand" policy?*

## *The New Resistance*

**S**UPPOSE that in spite of our disarming ourselves and embarking on a program of worldwide economic aid the Communists wished to attack the United States and had the means to make an attempt at it. This is a big "if," but the pacifist is under obligation to say what he would have the nation do in that case. I think his answer would run like this:

The fact that many people actually think that the Russians could "come over here and start to impose Communism on us" in a couple of hours by some Bolshevik stunt of super-magic is surely an illustration of how far our own lunacy has developed. The Russians would have to get over here; they could not do the job by remote control. They would still have to use planes and ships to get troops over here. Even if we assume that they were capable of quite a bit of long-range bombing, and first did that to us, even though they met no resistance, they would still have to attempt some kind of occupation; and to amount to anything, this would have to be a major operation, not a sleight-of-hand trick.

The reader is probably thinking that if American occupation troops and warships were withdrawn from other countries and American atomic bombs taken apart, the

Russians would first "take over" in those lands and then proceed from there to tackle us. Undoubtedly they would if world conquest were their goal. But if we were completely disarmed, how easy would they find the task of taking over these countries? They would no longer have the excuse that they had to take them over to protect themselves from possible American attack. In addition, if they were to get any cooperation from the people in the countries they occupied, they would have to be able to pose as their liberators. No nation welcomes marauders or conquerors. But from whom or what would the Russians now be liberating the Germans, French, Belgians, Dutch, English? Or the peoples of Southeast Asia and the Middle East, if they turned in that direction? How could they use their occupation of these lands to gather forces to take over America if they met quiet resistance and refusal to cooperate everywhere? How could they run the industries of those countries, with their technicians and workers not cooperating? They haven't enough skilled workers now to run even their own industries with full efficiency.

If the reader still thinks that Russia, engaged in the fantastic and bestial career of conquest that we are now supposing,



would have an easy time of it, let him reflect that Russia is not exactly having an easy time even now in Eastern Europe. Or consider the difficulties which the Nazis, at the height of their power and in the midst of war, had with the Resistance, often mainly nonviolent, in France, the Low Countries, Denmark and Norway.

### Private Ivan Comes To

Let us try to imagine what is happening all this time to the Russian soldiers who are engaged in this fantastic business of waging a war with no armies to fight against, and of "liberating" peoples from nothing and nobody. We assume that the people of these countries are practicing nonviolent resistance of the kind that Gandhi used so successfully in liberating about a fifth of the human race from British domination. This means that these "conquered" peoples are friendly to the individual Russian soldiers; they do not let them go hungry or starve. They tell them at every opportunity of their revulsion against war and of their desire to help the Russian people; they tell of the blessings of life in a democratic country. On the other hand, they refuse to salute Russian soldiers, to obey their orders, to transport them on their buses or railroads, to work the factories under Russian management. In all kinds of ways these people would show their friendship for Rus-

sians as people on the one hand and on the other, their utter contempt and hatred of militarism and tyranny.

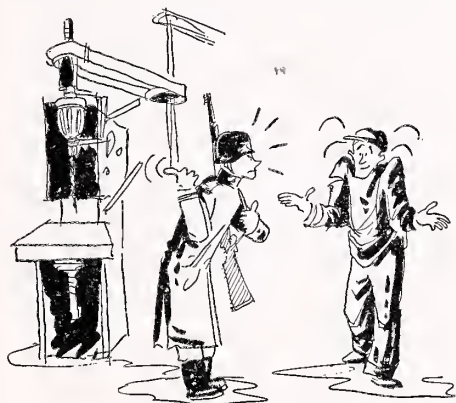
What would this do to these Russian soldiers? What would it do to their morale, which is the only thing that keeps soldiers going? What would they think about the indoctrination they had gotten about having to drive Americans out of Europe and Asia and about America's being ready to drop atomic bombs on Russia and her satellites? What would they think about the propaganda that peoples were waiting anxiously to be liberated by Russia and freed from tyranny?

### Like Other Soldiers

All of the evidence is to the effect that Russian soldiers in war behave about the same as any soldiers in war; and that Russians, apart from war, behave about the same as any other human beings, apart from war. Therefore, a lot of these Russian soldiers would soon begin to scratch their heads and say: "What is this? What are we doing here? Our leaders must be crazy, or maybe some counter-revolutionists are issuing statements in their name and pulling off a diabolical plot to destroy Russia and to discredit Communism. Anyway, there's nothing for us to do here. We want to go home to Mom, the wife and kids, the girl friend. We want to stop whatever nonsense is going on in Russia that has got us into this ridiculous situation, and that makes everybody hate Russia and Communism and love America and American democracy, which isn't nearly as bad as it has been pictured anyway."

Other Russian soldiers and officers in this situation might say, as quite a few are doing even now, according to the American Army and the papers: "Thank God we have escaped from the Russian prison house. Now that we're out, we don't want to go back, at least not until there is a new deal in Russia."

If, after all this, some Russian troops managed to get over here, we would keep up the same treatment of dogged, unflinching, imaginative, nonviolent resist-



"They refuse to obey orders. . . ."



ance and good will. We would refuse to be trapped into abandoning our own democracy and putting ourselves under military control. The Voice of America would be telling the Russians what was really happening. Daring American aviators would be dropping leaflets and food packages over Russia. Ships with food and technicians would be speeding to needy peoples like the Chinese and winning them over to democracy.

Again, I ask, what would this do to the Russian troops and their people? I think of Russian lads who might be sent over to American cities in bombing planes. They would meet none of the violent resistance they had been taught to expect. They would hear radio messages telling of America's refusal to be a party to plunging the world into war. . . . Some of these lads, fascinated by the wizardry of their machine, might "just for the hell of it" drop their bomb load, as a thoughtless American lad might under similar circumstances. That is the way airmen are trained to be impersonal.

But—remember?—even now when most Russians, like most Americans, don't want to desert their own country in peril, apparently quite a few airmen and other soldiers, from Russia or the satellite states, do escape into non-Russian territory if they get the chance. Russia doesn't have all the secret police and other machinery of espionage and repression just because everybody is so happy and contented. What a chance a lot of these young Russians would have to get away from it all if the Russians sent air squadrons to America.

### **A Risk the Kremlin Cannot Afford**

Do you think the Kremlin would risk it, this opportunity for the best of Russian troops to get away, this bringing Russian soldiers to the point of demanding that they be taken home in a hurry because they have been on a fool's errand?

There is no surer way to disconcert the men in the Kremlin than for the United States to take the lead in such a program as we have proposed: an economic foreign policy of imaginative and efficient good will and friendliness; the abandonment of all war preparation, unilaterally if need be; and nonviolent resistance along Gandhian lines adapted to Western conditions as the means of overcoming violence that may, in spite of everything, be attempted.

### **Might Welcome It**

If Russian leaders are tolerably decent fellows, as American and British political and military leaders are, they will welcome the adoption of such a policy by us. Recognizing that they do not then need to fear that any legitimate human aims they may seek will be destroyed by American dollars or American bombs, they will respond in kind. If they are diabolically evil, or hopelessly crazy by this time—as some of our leaders perhaps are—then the sure way to get the Russian people to take the bottom out from under the regime is the course we have proposed. And there is no other way to do it.

The course of war preparation and the rest that we are now following keeps the present rulers in power. The Russians do not intend to play second fiddle to us any more than we will to them, and they will back their leaders to the limit in this, even if they have to fight another war. They believe in their system of revolution, for all its shortcomings or incompleteness, as we do in our way of life. They fear us as we fear them, and they will submit to restrictions and dictatorships so long as they see vast military establishments arrayed against them. They showed Napoleon and Hitler what colossal suffering they will accept, and how impossible it is to conquer them in such circumstances. Do *we* insist on being shown all over again?

## Suggestions for Discussion

1. *Would many Americans have the courage to resist aggression non-violently? Would you?*
2. *How does such a program seem to fit into a Christian view of life?*

## *Facing Economic Realities*

THERE ARE FACTORS inherent in the American economic system itself that stand in the way of our helping build a cooperative economy on a world scale. These must be considered.

Our system is one that places tremendous emphasis on self-interest, competition and drive for profit. If we distribute all that was not needed of development capital among those who had helped produce it, there would be no scarcity any more, no profits in the technical sense; power would drop out of the hands of the directors of our great aggregations of private wealth. Although there is a wider distribution of income in this country than formerly, there is basic resistance to carrying this process through to a conclusion. Witness the present "business regime" in Washington and the forces that put it there.

Under this "business is business" system, it is entirely out of the question to give goods away. A couple of years ago we haggled even over a *loan* of wheat to India, while surpluses glutted our warehouses and the government spent half a million dollars a day on storage.

We make an exception to the rule against giving away in war. Then we recklessly shoot away thousands of bil-

lions of dollars, and "business" patriotically refrains from complaining. But in normal times we have to compete even with backward economies. We have to invest where we can get profit, sell at the highest price we can get and buy at the lowest, maintain the right to keep up tariff walls, while complaining about other nations that hamper the free exchange of goods. For war economy purposes we must draw the major share of strategic materials of the world into this country. Thus we want the underdeveloped countries to remain essentially producers of raw materials and cheap food. If we help them industrialize, we want to build our own corporate enterprises and factories, or if we lend capital, make sure that it is not used for socialization but in order to develop native capitalism and capitalists.

The masses in the underdeveloped areas do not want such a regime. In fact, it is not feasible for these countries since they cannot compete with the American economic colossus. Even some of the more developed countries have had to give up trying. This is another reason why underdeveloped countries turn to Communism. But devotees of "the American system" resist cooperation as a "give-away" program. It is not too much to say that as a

social force—not indicting their individual subjective motivations—they will almost certainly accept responsibility for continuing the power conflict and waging atomic (“defensive,” of course) war rather than acquiesce in basic economic change.

### Creeping Socialism?

One wishes that the people of this country with their natural friendliness, their ready generosity when their hearts are touched, including many a business man and politician, could somehow be helped to see, to *feel* in the marrow of their bones, what our economic system with its extreme emphasis on individualism and on the virtues of getting ahead of the other fellow, does to multitudes of people, to the underprivileged majority of the human race, *whose average income is not so much as a hundred dollars per year*. Then we would begin to understand why they accept so eagerly that “creeping socialism” which we are taught by the Voice of America to abhor.

A young woman, writing about her contact with young Germans drawn to Communism, points out in a recently published book\* that in trying to win masses from allegiance to collective totalitarianism, away from *mass man* who is dehumanized and enslaved, we point to *man as individual*, and people do not respond. “A world wasn’t looking for lonely apartness.”

What we should hold forth as the release from the bondage of *mass man* is *man universal*. That is precisely what we would be doing if we were true to our own Judeo-Christian and democratic ideals. But our economic system and practice are not built on this concept of universality, brotherhood and cooperation. So men turn to totalitarianism, after all, as something more promising, less chilling and devoid of promise. They turn to something which at least looks like brotherhood. Listen now to Miss Peel: “And if we failed to perceive this, or depended

wrongly upon our words—how tremendous the field for the voices which said, not ‘I’ but ‘us,’ not ‘mine’ but ‘ours,’ that said out of darkness, ‘Brothers, come...’”

### No Room for War Profits

If somehow by agreement we got universal disarmament, there would no longer be any war industry, war jobs, war wages, war profits (something the campaigners for universal disarmament seldom stress). In an unarmed world tariffs would not last long, nor would masses in overcrowded lands long remain pent up in them with better lands near by. The near monopoly of good land by a handful of whites in African countries would end. Universal disarmament, then, is virtually synonymous with economic revolution. Again speaking of social drives and not of subjective motivations, this is a basic reason why universal disarmament is like the weather *a la* Mark Twain: everybody talks about it and nobody does anything about it. To a large extent this is also why the dominant forces in the United States, after they get through “forever” destroying German and Japanese military might, soon set about rebuilding it. They help free enterprise get on its feet again, partly with the help of freedom from the burden of an arms budget for a few years after the war! On other grounds this business of dismantling a war machine and then putting it back together again is obviously illogical and idiotic. When we take note that in a warless world there would be no war economy—no “solution” for economic crises in war and preparation for war—hence an economic revolution, we understand why men of high IQ’s, high social and ecclesiastical standing, and often high private morals and personal piety, adopt these astonishing policies. In a certain sense they are logical after all and know full well what they are doing.

It is in this connection that the notion, fairly widespread among workers, that war and war business mean prosperity while peace will bring unemployment and depression, calls for attention. Labor

\* Doris Peel, *The Inward Journey*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston 1953.

leaders, committed as they are to the support of "defense" and a bipartisan foreign policy, fail completely to meet this problem. The one observation that can be made here is that when the pacifist says, "No war, no war prosperity," he is not supporting the notion that peace spells poverty. It is war that is essentially, unqualifiedly uneconomic. The transition from a war to a peace economy *can* be made, just as we can go in the reverse direction. It will, indeed, have to be made before long if Western nations are not to descend into economic chaos and want,

as others before them have done. I confess that I do not have a blueprint for this transition, but that does not disturb me. I am perfectly certain that American economists, technicians, managers and workers can come up with adequate plans for a peace economy, provided they have the moral and political will to do so.

When we really want the kind of child-centered program of world economics sketched above half as much as we want a bigger pile of H-bombs, we shall find the way to implement it. The question is, Do we really want it?

## Suggestions for Discussion

*Americans have been mobilized successfully for all-out war.  
Could they likewise be mobilized for an all-out peace campaign?  
What are some of the sacrifices such a campaign would involve?*



## Something to Die For

THERE ARE TWO ultimate questions we must now consider. If we may use a military figure to state a pacifist case, we can say that one is the question of what we fight *for*; the other of what we fight *with* and rely on for a sense of security.

Paradoxically, life is worth living for those who have something for which they will gladly give up life. Individuals and nations need something beyond themselves to which they give unconditional homage and devotion. A nation cannot exist if it has no purpose save to exist, to survive at any cost and on any terms. It needs a spiritual goal. In the words of the Psalmist, "Except the Lord build the city, they labor in vain that build it."

It is equally true that in the final analysis the weapons with which a nation must fight are spiritual. Its defense and security are spiritually based, or they do not really exist. Even military men recognize that without morale, a spiritual factor, the biggest and best equipped army in the world is a shell. In answer to the question, "What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence?" Lincoln replied: "It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. *All of*

*these may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. . . . Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere."*

A people thus devoted to a spiritual goal and thus skilled in wielding spiritual weapons would have immense driving and staying power. It would have a faith that other peoples, especially the long down-trodden masses, could embrace in place of the Communist faith that has so vast an attraction for them now.

### No Madness Left

In his *Essay on War*, Emerson pictured such a nation:

*"If you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great, and able men. . . . I shall not find them defenceless, with idle hands springing at their sides. I shall find them men of love, honor, and truth; men of an immense industry; men whose influence is felt to the end of the earth . . . and all forces yield to their energy and persuasion. Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one which invites injury but one, on the contrary, which has a*

*friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the tears and blessings of mankind."*

The Western world in its concept of democracy, the United States in "the American dream," and Christians in their gospel and ethic of love, of evil overcome not by evil but by good, have knowledge of such a spiritual goal. The difficulty is that we do not pursue this goal. On the one hand are a lot of ordinary folks who have never truly been taught that there are other, better means for dealing with Communism than the shooting mad dogs technique. There are the hardboiled who have no scruples. Then there are the many varieties of sophisticated intellectual and spiritual leaders. These people, however they phrase it in words, think that it is pointless, at least in this modern age, to call upon governments and nations to behave ethically, not to mention in a Christian way, to repent of the sins of atomic and biological war and to trust in God. With the chanting of the magic word "Utopianism," these people dismiss the challenge and the hope of building brotherhood on earth as in heaven. Alas, not a few peace workers are among them, placing their reliance on some device by which an unrepentant and essentially unbelieving nation will on the basis of self-interest work out an agreement with an unrepentant and avowedly unbelieving Communist regime that will bring peace!

On the other hand, if in any typical Protestant church of a Sunday morning I were to say pretty much what I have here been writing about centering our national policy around the needy children of the world, Christian hearts would be touched and Christian heads would be nodded gravely in assent. And then, as the Roper polls show, these good Christian folk would agree nearly to the man that it was also right and wise for the United States to keep adding to the H-bomb stockpile as the best way to keep the godless, Christ-denying Communists from

coming over here and closing Christ's churches!

### **"Not Practical Now"**

Two pastors of the French Reformed Church were put into a concentration camp during World War II for refusal to conform to anti-Semitic laws enacted by the Pétain regime. The Communists in the camp were impressed by two men who seemed to them to behave like early Christians, for they accepted a second imprisonment in the camp rather than sign a piece of paper promising obedience to collaborationist laws, though few got a second chance to get out of a concentration camp in those days. "Why should anybody hesitate to sign a piece of paper, even if it tells a lie?"—was the Communist reaction.

So impressed were they, in fact, that they began to spend several hours every day with the pastors in studying the New Testament. When the pastors were on the point of being released again, one of the Communists said to them in parting: "We recognize that your faith is superior to ours. This way of life which Jesus taught and lived everybody ought to live. And everybody will," he added, "after the Revolution."

The problem of morale and faith facing the West is here vividly laid bare. It is that the Christian nations, Christian churches, Christian people are in thorough agreement with that Communist. Again the "enemy" is ourselves. We and that Communist are agreed that the Christian faith and way are superior; agreed that some day it has to prevail; and agreed that this will come to pass after we—Communists and Christians—have made it possible for our ways of life to survive and prevail by our respective impure and violent means. The Communists believe it will come to pass "after the Revolution" when they are in control. American Christians believe it will come after they by the threat or use of their atomic arsenal have got things under control. But they all unite in the grand chorus: "But it isn't practical now!"

At an earlier stage we found that it is not possible to be absorbed at one and the same time in the power struggle and in the task of spreading general well-being across the world and building a stable world economy. We are faced with a choice of goals.

A choice of means must likewise be made, however we may shrink from it. Our firm conviction as pacifists is that it is not possible to achieve democracy by undemocratic means, to overcome Communism by resorting increasingly to Communist methods, to save the values of Christian civilization by throwing them overboard as modern war requires us to do. On the positive side it is our conviction that love translated into concrete action for human brotherhood is the way to overcome evil and that the spiritual power which flows through men when they give themselves to God in faith and obedience is real and the most potent force in the universe.

### "Will It Work?"

In this context we always come up against the question, "Will it work?" Will it work with the Russians, the Communists, the totalitarians? In the abstract and in general people are usually willing to grant the pacifist case, but the concrete enemy of the moment is always a *special* case. Nor would pacifists deny that totalitarianism in its modern forms and equipped with modern weapons of thought-control, regimentation and terrorism presents a tremendous challenge to pacifists. It does also to the advocates of any other method for meeting aggression and tyranny, a point which non-pacifists sometimes overlook. Their record, as we pointed out at length in the beginning of this essay, is not one of success!

But what is the pacifist's answer to the question of workability? We are now dealing with the problem of practicality on another level than a short way back when we were dealing with the political-economic approach versus the military. There it was a question of "calculated risk," and

we argued that on that basis the chances were that if the United States continued in the power struggle and armaments race, it would lose the battle against Communism. If, on the contrary, it embarked on a policy of devoting its skills and resources to developing a sound global economy, it would probably win. Now we are dealing with moral or spiritual values. In Christian terms we are proposing that men apply Christ's method of uncalculating love, of feeding the enemy and so on, rather than depending upon the sword for defence or liberation.

### The Morally Responsible

Stating the matter in other terms, we are here thinking of the morally responsible human being. All who believe in some kind of moral order, whether or not they are Christians or consider themselves religious at all, face a crucial problem in connection with war. The question is not whether one is going to die in war; at the appointed time all men, and nations also, die. This is in the order of nature. The question for the morally responsible being is what happens to *himself* if he becomes a murderer, drops atomic bombs on little enemy children instead of trying to bring them food and healing. The question is what *moral* price he is prepared to pay for his country's victory in war.

When on this level the Christian is asked whether the way of uncalculating love—of not "offending one of these little ones" behind the Iron Curtain—"works" in some immediate political sense, his first answer is bound to be that he doesn't think this is any of his business. God whom he knows in Christ commands love. He does not promise success to today's Christian any more than he did Jesus. Indeed, there is sure to be a cross in the picture somewhere. One of the signs that we are off the track is that everything goes smoothly and all men speak well of us. When the Christian asks God for victory, success, a blank check, he has ceased to believe in God.

The morally responsible person will give essentially the same answer. He has

to be true, in the final pinch, to the highest that he knows. He has to be able to live with himself. If his moral standard amounts to obeying whatever orders some government gives him (remember the Nuremberg doctrine of the guilt of *individual* Nazis) or if his standard is what he can get away with, then he is no longer a moral being. This is why, in fact, any human being not bereft of sanity altogether "draws a line somewhere," at some point says, "I can do no other."

### Where Draw the Line?

The modern pacifist draws the line at participation in atomic and bacteriological war. When he is asked whether this pacifism is "politically effective," his reply is: "If human beings do not draw this line, then where will they draw the line? What are they waiting for?" In the great drama, *Jakobowski and the Colonel*, Jakobowski, the refugee, says to the Nazi Colonel who has just been engaged in torturing certain victims: "There is one advantage that the hunted has over the hunter—namely, that he is not the hunter." The advantage is an ultimate one: not to join the hunters. If a man loses it, there is nothing to compensate for the loss.

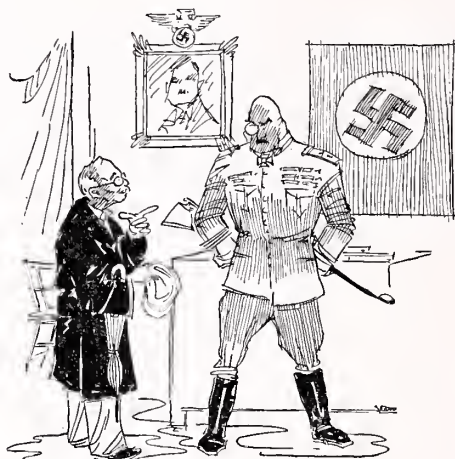
Totalitarian regimes do indeed present a grave problem, and our argument in no sense proceeds on the basis of minimizing the evil of such regimes. But the familiar argument that Gandhi could get by with nonviolence in dealing with the British but that nonviolence is no good in dealing with this or that other regime in practice means that *any* methods have to be used with the latter. This clearly means surrender of the moral life. It is capitulation to the amoral or anti-moral philosophy of Bolshevism: any means is justified because *my* end is good. Indeed it is to fall lower than this in the moral scale because it amounts to saying: "The mere survival of my country at any cost and by any means in a naked struggle for power is justified." It is to enthrone the doctrine of military necessity as the moral imperative and to deny, utterly and

finally, that "he who seeketh his life shall lose it."

### "Somebody Might Get Killed"

There is a curious quirk in the thinking of people today. They will witness several world wars, as my generation has, and yet continue preparations for atomic and biological war, having from experience of the loss of life involved in past wars a frightening notion of what human as well as material cost future war will entail. Then somebody proposes that nonviolence would be a better way and they say, "But somebody might get killed!"

This familiar argument shows what an almost unbreakable hold the war pattern has on the thinking of people. Somehow the slaughter of untold millions in war seems rational or inevitable to them and "somebody might get killed" is conclusive ground for giving no further thought to a method the efficacy of which Gandhi demonstrated in at least one great political struggle. In almost any other realm, people would have open minds to some further experimenting with the new method. In this realm the U.S. government will have a fifty billion dollar military budget and not appropriate a nickel for research in nonviolence, and many per-



"One advantage that the hunted has over the hunter."



sons, including intellectual and spiritual leaders, either accept this outright or then go along after making a feeble protest which is dignified as "critical support of the war policy." What a rut for thinking to be in at what is probably the most critical moment in human history. What *faith* in material things and military means is here revealed!

If men are not willing to practice the way of nonviolence with the same kind of commitment and recklessness of cost or consequences as they practice the way of war and as Communists work for Communism, clearly nonviolence will not work. They do not want peace and they will not get it.

The evidence that they who seek their life shall lose it is strewn all over the pages of history. As the old hymn put it,

*O, where are kings and empires now  
Of old that went and came?*

We cannot inveigle God into a bargain: love, refrain from violence, pretend to be willing to sacrifice, and then peace, comfort and prosperity will be yours, O America. Nothing is guaranteed. The element of risk and cost cannot be removed. The nation that goes to war has no guarantee of victory. God will not make a bargain with the nonviolent either. Pacifism cannot guarantee a cheap and painless solution. We must risk even failure and defeat for the sake of decent national behavior.

### No Christmas Carol

It is plain that only if there be a Church which is truly a fellowship that incarnates and practices love and is prepared to lose its life, can the people as a whole be expected to follow such a course as we have suggested. Suppose, then, there were a Church that was not sending its sons and daughters, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, into the armed forces but sending its youth out over the world as missionaries of a universal fellowship in which there is neither Russian nor American, Chinese nor Japanese. "Thousands of them would face the world not with

the Gospel in one hand and an atomic weapon in the other—but as did the early Christians, unarmed, defenceless, eager to feed the poor and heal the sick, passionately preaching the gospel of love, glorifying in the proclamation of one who had proved his divine sonship and his lordship over men by dying on a cross."\*

### Would Experience Persecution

Some Christian youth would almost certainly experience persecution as did the early Christians. But do we doubt that in and through them power would be released, the power to enable men and peoples to do what they are now impotent to do? It may sound foolish to suggest that we surround and invade the Iron Curtain countries with a lot of unarmed missionaries carrying food, perhaps, and the gospel of inclusive love, trying to gather little enemy children around them instead of dropping bombs or getting ready to drop bombs on them. But we need to get away from the "wisdom" and "realism" which have brought us where we are. We have to look in another direction, at that which in its own order is perhaps as invisible to the naked eye, seemingly as devoid of power, as the atom. We must try to understand the profound truth of Paul's observation that God—who can be so easily overlooked!—"choose the foolish things of the world that he might put to shame them that are wise . . . and the weak things that he might put to shame them that are strong."

Have I taken you on this long journey only to end by telling you that the United States must become a nation of pacifists and Christians if we and all mankind are to be saved? This is not what I am saying, although I have certainly been trying to make it clear that a spiritual as well as an economic revolution is the price of our deliverance. If you call this asking for a miracle, I am still prepared to stand by it and say that "only a miracle can save us now."

\* From *The Christian Conscience and War*, statement of a commission of 35 theologians and religious leaders appointed by the Church Peace Mission.



This is not to say that we must have a nation of a hundred and twenty million or so adult Christians and pacifists in order to put an end to totalitarianism. What I am saying is that we need a new spiritual leadership, a leadership that cannot be supplied by a Church which in the face of atomic and biological war is still not able to make up its corporate mind for or against. Men are "listening for something like a Christmas carol,"

wrote Walter Marshall Horton a few years ago, regretting that the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948 had failed to "speak to our world as a whole, in its peril, as though there were no Iron Curtain." He concluded, and we conclude with him: "So far no carol has come. When it comes, it must come from the Church; in the nature of the case it cannot come from the State."

## Suggestions for Discussion

*1. Should the question "Will it work?" be the deciding factor in determining whether one should follow a Christian course of action? Should the danger that might be involved?*

*2. Do you believe that a man who is convinced that war is wholly wrong should still "go along" with his fellow countrymen in war, or refuse to take part?*

*3. Do you believe that Jesus would take part in a war fought with atomic and bacteriological weapons?*



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